2: Schaden--108 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 Shd4 Guarani Shd4

/90 cont./

881 the supernatural dangers stemming from such a delicate state. When
[582] it takes place, the boys' initiation, a collective ceremony that
[561] represents the ascension of a new age-stratum to the category of the marriageable, arouses the interest of the whole community. To be sure, that of the girl is an individual event, and, because of that, of much more restricted social importance, which is the reason that the ceremonial pageantry is considered dispensable. Furthermore, it can be said that the Guaraní culture is of markedly masculine orientation. The religion is, not exclusively, but predominantly, in the hands of the men, and it is through that that the dominant aspects of the cultural ethos are more manifestly and perceptibly expressed. It is therefore understandable that the things bound up with the masculine world, among them the initiation of the boys, merit more social interest or participation -- in spite of there not being (from the social and cultural points of view) a rigorous division between age strata, as we have seen above.

881 /91/ Why is it necessary to surround the girl with special care during her first menstrual period? She is on the brink of a new biological phase, and, just as on the occasion of her birth her father (and mother) must substitutively abstain from certain foods and activities in order that the newborn child may be able to survive, now the girl, through the resguardo, defends herself from the misfortunes that the new condition could bring upon her. The puberal resguardo should not be interpreted only in the sense of "rite" for the social "recognition" of biological maturity and subsequent possibility of marriage.

There is no doubt but that the first menses are regarded as the event responsible for the most delicate manifestation of crisis in the life of the Guaraní woman. In the three subdivisions of the group the puberal eclosion is regarded as surrounded by the gravest dangers.

Both for the state of the menstruating girl and for the period of resguardo to which she is subjected, the Guaraní use the designation Nemondýiã. Aside from this term, there is also used the denomination odjehéahú, generic, by the way, for the principal crisis states of the individual that require resguardo.

2: Schaden--115 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/95 cont./

not do harm to anyone, do not offend the families of others, do not mistreat anyone, behave well on journeys (that is, do not drink much liquor), have the tasks in the clearing done well, do not mistreat the woman when married" (3).

3. /From p. 98 of the original source./
Schaden, 1948c, p. 162.

This enumeration is particularly interesting because of betraying the consciousness of so many problems that afflict the community in its present phase of cultural transition.

Only the Kayová give ritual emphasis to the piercing of the lip of the boys, with ceremonies of a religious stamp and not only measures of a magical nature. For the Kayová the celebration is the event that stands out most in his life cycle. Nevertheless, in the nuclei of southern Mato Grosso the celebration (called there kununí-pepý, or kununí-piéta, hybrid form) is doomed to disappear, an inevitable consequence of the dominant new conditions of life in these groups. The data that I have were obtained principally in the village of Amambai.

It is the flanderú (paí) or doctor-sorcerer who decides on holding the celebration. Failing to hold it for a very long period, the community would be the victim of misfortunes. The common interval between one celebration and another, varying according to the number of boys of an age to have their lip pierced (between 8 and 12 years old, more or less) is about four years, on the average. On this occasion the Kayová of two or three neighboring villages gather together.

In general the kununí-pepý coincides in the respective year with the maize celebration, avatí-mongaraí (ceremonial harvesting of the first maize), which is held when the corn is ripening, that is, from January on. For the piercing of the lip there ought to be about ten boys of the age indicated: those who are more than twelve years old no longer undergo the ceremony. Therefore there are adults who do not have the labial hole. As early as a year in advance the candidates start avoiding heavy food, especially certain game, preferably nourishing themselves with chicha.